

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 STATE 110023
ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 R

DRAFTED BY NSC
APPROVED BY THE SECRETARY
AF/S:DKPETTERSON/JDAVIDOW
IO/UNP:TNILES
S/S-O SGOLDSMITH
S/P;MSPIEGEL (SUBS)
AF;WCHARR
NSC;TTHORNTON
-

-----115504 291635Z /65
O 291602Z APR 78 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM NIACT IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA NIACT IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 110023

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS - 1

TAGS: RH,TZ,PDEV

SUBJECT:PRESIDENT CARTER'S RESPONSE TO PRESIDENT
NYERERE

1. PLEASE MAKE ARRANGEMENTS TO DELIVER PRESIDENT'S LETTER,
TEXT OF WHICH IS BELOW, TO PRESIDENT NYERERE AT THE EARLIEST
POSSIBLE MOMENT.

2. IN DELIVERING THE LETTER YOU SHOULD MAKE THE FOLLOWING
POINTS ON NAMIBIA.

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A. WE CAN NOT OVEREMPHASIZE THE DEPTH OF OUR CONCERN THAT
SWAPO'S RECALCITRANT ATTITUDE MIGHT CAUSE A REAL OPPORTUNITY
FOR A NEGOTIATED AND PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT TO THE NAMIBIAN
PROBLEM TO BE BOOTED AWAY.

B. IT IS PROBABLE THAT THE FIVE POWERS WILL MAKE A JOINT
APPROACH TO THE GOVERNMENT OF TANZANIA IN THE NEAR FUTURE

ON THIS ISSUE, BUT WE FELT IT IMPERATIVE TO LET PRESIDENT NYERERE KNOW ABOUT THE SECRETARY'S CONVERSATION WITH NUJOMA OF APRIL 27

3. IN DISCUSSING RHODESIA YOU SHOULD DRAW UPON YOUR OWN EXPERIENCES AT THE DAR MEETINGS WITH THE PF TO GIVE NYERERE A GREATER FEEL FOR THE ATMOSPHERICS OF THE ENCOUNTERS, PARTICULARLY THE LAST MEETING. YOU MIGHT ALSO WANT TO MAKE THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

A. WE AGREE WITH HIS POINT THAT THE QUESTION OF THE COMPOSITION OF THE GOVERNING COUNCIL SHOULD BE DECIDED BY THE PARTIES THEMSELVES.

B. INDEED, ONE OF THE DIFFICULTIES AT THE DAR MEETING WAS THE PF'S MISUNDERSTANDING OF OUR NEGOTIATING ROLE. THEY PUT FORTH EXCESSIVE DEMANDS WHICH WERE CLEARLY OUTSIDE OF THE PRINCIPLES OF THE AAP (E.G. THE 8-3-1 FORMULATION FOR THE GOVERNING COUNCIL), EXPECTING OWEN AND VANCE TO BARGAIN AND REACH COMPROMISE SOLUTIONS, STILL FAVORABLE TO THEM, WHICH THE PF WOULD THEN HAVE EXPECTED THE US-UK TO IMPOSE ON THE SALISBURY GROUP.

C. THE SECRETARIES EXPLAINED THAT THEY COULD NOT DO THIS. THEY SAID THAT PF POSITIONS IN VARIANCE WITH THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF THE AAP WOULD HAVE TO BE CONFIDENTIAL

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DECIDED AMONG THE PARTIES.

D. FOR OUR PART, WE WILL REMAIN COMMITTED TO THE PRINCIPLES OF OUR OWN PROPOSALS BUT WOULD NOT OBJECT TO AGREEMENTS ON DETAILS WORKED OUT BY THE PARTIES THEMSELVES.

E. WE UNDERSTAND PRESIDENT NYERERE'S POINT ABOUT LETTING THE BISHOP KNOW ABOUT THE PROGRESS MADE IN DAR ES SALAAM AND TRYING TO PERSUADE HIM TO PULL BACK FROM DISASTER BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE. THIS WAS THE MESSAGE WE CONVEYED IN SALISBURY. (YOU MIGHT WANT TO LIGHTLY SUGGEST THE POSSIBILITY OF TANZANIAN-INTERNAL NATIONALIST CONTACTS, KEEPING IN MIND, HOWEVER, THAT THE BRITISH HAVE NOT YET SIGNED ABOARD STEVE LOW'S IDEA (LUSAKA 1472, STATE 107532, LONDON 6739).

5. IN ADDITION TO THE ABOVE YOU MAY WISH TO DRAW ON THE SAME POINTS WHICH YOU AND UK HICOM MADE APRIL 28 TO FORMIN PRINCIPAL SECRETARY ABOUT THE SALISBURY MEETINGS AND OUR DETERMINATION TO CONTINUE OUR NEGOTIATING EFFORTS, DESPITE THE NEGATIVE SALISBURY REACTION.

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

SECRETARY VANCE HAS NOW REPORTED TO ME ON HIS MEETING WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AND HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH YOU IN DAR ES SALAAM. I APPRECIATE THE WELCOME YOU GAVE HIM, YOUR EFFORTS TO ARRANGE THE CONFERENCE, AND YOUR VALUABLE PERSONAL INVOLVEMENT.

BEFORE ADDRESSING YOUR LETTER OF APRIL 20 AND YOUR THOUGHTS ON RHODESIA, I WANT TO DRAW YOUR ATTENTION TO THE QUESTION OF NAMIBIA, WHICH STANDS NOW AT A
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CRITICAL POINT. BECAUSE THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT HAS AGREED TO THE PROPOSAL OF THE WESTERN FIVE, THE OPPORTUNITY EXISTS TO ACHIEVE PEACEFUL INDEPENDENCE AND MAJORITY RULE. WE MUST NOT LET THAT SLIP AWAY.

ON APRIL 27, SECRETARY VANCE MET IN WASHINGTON WITH SAM NUJOMA AND NIGERIAN FOREIGN MINISTER GARBA. ALTHOUGH SECRETARY VANCE MADE CLEAR OUR BELIEF THAT THE PROPOSAL SHOULD BE ACCEPTED, MR. NUJOMA SAID THAT SWAPO HAD MAJOR CONCERNS WITH THE PROPOSAL, COULD NOT ACCEPT IT, AND WOULD MAKE A PUBLIC STATEMENT ALONG THAT LINE, CALLING FOR FURTHER MEETINGS.

SUCH MEETINGS WOULD SERVE NO PURPOSE. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO SATISFY BOTH SWAPO AND SOUTH AFRICA COMPLETELY AT THE SAME TIME, AND THE WESTERN FIVE HAVE NOW DONE ALL THAT IS POSSIBLE TO BRIDGE THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THEM. THE SOUTH AFRICANS HAVE AGREED TO SWALLOW WHAT THEY REGARD AS A BITTER PILL; SWAPO ALSO MUST BE PREPARED TO ACCEPT LESS THAN IT WANTS. THAT THE PROPOSAL IS ACCEPTABLE TO MANY PEOPLE WITHIN NAMIBIA IS EVIDENCED BY THE SUPPORT BISHOP AUALA AND OTHER NAMIBIAN CHURCHMEN HAVE GIVEN IT.

I RECOGNIZE THAT THE ISSUE OF WALVIS BAY IS OF SPECIAL IMPORTANCE TO SWAPO AND OF CONCERN TO YOU AND OTHER AFRICAN LEADERS. YOU ARE AWARE OF THE STATEMENT THE U.S. IS PREPARED TO MAKE WITH REGARD TO THE FUTURE OF WALVIS BAY IN THE EVENT SWAPO ACCEPTS THE WESTERN FIVE'S PROPOSAL. WHILE THIS DOES NOT GO AS FAR AS SWAPO WOULD LIKE, IT MAKES IT CLEAR WHERE OUR SUPPORT WILL LIE WHEN THE ISSUE IS JOINED. MOREOVER, I CANNOT OVEREMPHASIZE THE IMPORTANCE OF YOU AND YOUR
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COLLEAGUES' MAKING CLEAR TO SWAPO THAT THE INTERESTS
OF THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE WILL BEST BE SERVED BY ACCEPTANCE

OF THE PROPOSAL. AS SECRETARY VANCE MADE PLAIN TO
MR. NUJOMA, THE UNITED STATES IS COMMITTED TO DO ALL
IT CAN TO ENSURE THAT ALL PARTIES WILL ENJOY FAIR
CONDITIONS THROUGHOUT THE ELECTION PERIOD. THE
PROPOSAL REFLECTS AN EXTRAORDINARY EFFORT BY THE
WESTERN CONTACT GROUP TO HELP RESOLVE ONE OF SOUTHERN
AFRICA'S PRINCIPAL PROBLEMS. IF AFRICAN STATES WERE
DETERRED BY SWAPO FROM DECLARING SUPPORT FOR IT, THE
RESULT WOULD BE TRAGIC. A POSITIVE RESPONSE BY
AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL IN MAY
WOULD PERMIT THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROPOSAL TO
BEGIN, AND THIS IN TURN WOULD DECISIVELY INFLUENCE
THE PROSPECTS FOR PEACE IN NAMIBIA AND THE SATISFACTORY
RESOLUTION OF OTHER SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUES, INCLUDING
RHODESIA.

I WAS PLEASED TO RECEIVE YOUR ASSESSMENT OF THE DAR
ES SALAAM MEETING WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. THIS
CONFERENCE WAS AN ESSENTIAL STEP IN THE PURSUIT OF A
JUST AND LASTING RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT. I HOPE IT
WILL SOON BE FOLLOWED BY THE NEXT SUCH STEP, A
MEETING AMONG ALL THE PARTIES.

I AGREE THAT PROGRESS WAS MADE AT DAR ES SALAAM; THE
COMMUNIQUE REFLECTS THAT. BUT THE COMMUNIQUE ITSELF
WAS LESS THAN PERFECT. IT WAS DRAFTED IN A LENGTHY
AND TIRING MEETING DURING WHICH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT
INCORRECTLY ALLEGED THAT DR. OWEN AND SECRETARY VANCE
HAD AGREED TO CERTAIN POSITIONS. AT THE SAME TIME,
THE PATRIOTIC FRONT ALSO SPECIFICALLY REJECTED THE
POSITION THAT THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER SHOULD HAVE
AUTHORITY OVER EXTERNAL AFFAIRS AND THE FUNCTIONING
OF THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION. IN RETROSPECT, IT IS
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REGRETTABLE THAT OBSERVERS FROM TANZANIA AND OTHER
INTERESTED STATES WERE ABSENT DURING THAT MEETING,
BECAUSE A FIRST-HAND REPORT WOULD HAVE ENABLED YOU TO
PERCEIVE MORE ACCURATELY THE CONTEXT IN WHICH THE
COMMUNIQUE WAS ISSUED.

I AM FRANKLY DISAPPOINTED AT THE FAILURE OF THE

PATRIOTIC FRONT TO SHOW MORE INTEREST IN ACCEPTING THE REQUIREMENTS OF AN EQUITABLE SETTLEMENT. THE PRINCIPLE THAT THE ARRANGEMENTS OF THE TRANSITION PERIOD SHOULD NOT BE PERMITTED TO INFLUENCE THE OUTCOME OF THE ELECTIONS IS A FUNDAMENTAL ONE THAT MUST BE ACCEPTED BY ALL PARTIES. THE ESSENCE OF A TRANSITION ADMINISTRATION IS GENUINE NEUTRALITY.

LIKE YOU, I AM CONCERNED ABOUT THE BEST WAY TO BUILD ON THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE DAR ES SALAAM MEETING. WE MUST PRESERVE CLOSE CONTACT WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT, SINCE THERE ARE MANY ISSUES THAT REQUIRE FURTHER DISCUSSION BETWEEN US. FOR EXAMPLE, I RECOGNIZE THE PATRIOTIC FRONT'S CONCERN ABOUT THE ROLE OF THE POLICE DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD, BUT I AM ALSO MINDFUL OF THE NEED TO ESTABLISH ARRANGEMENTS FOR LAW AND ORDER THAT INSPIRE THE CONFIDENCE OF EVERYONE ENGAGED IN THE ELECTORAL PROCESS. CONSULTATIONS ON THIS ISSUE COULD YIELD SUGGESTIONS WHICH MIGHT USEFULLY BE DISCUSSED BY ALL THE PARTIES.

I AM DISAPPOINTED BY THE SALISBURY GROUP'S STATEMENT THAT AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING WOULD BE DOOMED TO FAIL. HOWEVER, I BELIEVE THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MAY BE SPLIT ON THIS ISSUE, AND THE STATEMENT ITSELF IS NOT, ON CONFIDENTIAL

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ITS FACE, A CATEGORICAL REJECTION OF FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS. DURING THE COMING WEEKS WE WILL CONTINUE TO REMIND THE SALISBURY GROUP THAT ONLY A SETTLEMENT WHICH IS DEMONSTRABLY FAIR AND LETS ALL PARTIES PARTICIPATE EQUITABLY IN THE TRANSITIONAL AND ELECTORAL PROCESS CAN BE ASSURED OF RECEIVING INTERNATIONAL ACCEPTANCE.

TO REALIZE OUR COMMON HOPES FOR RHODESIA, FULL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS IS IMPORTANT. YOUR COOPERATION AND THOUGHTFUL COUNSEL ARE ONCE AGAIN MOST TIMELY, AND I THANK YOU FOR SHARING THEM WITH ME. SINCERELY, JIMMY CARTER. END TEXT. VANCE

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ORIGIN SS-15

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /016 R

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DRAFTED BY:UO/UNA:BJSHARP

APPROVED BY:IO/UNA:JFTEFFT

S/S-O:RHART

-----124984 011850Z /72

R 011815Z MAY 78

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0000

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 110023

EXDIS FOR AMBASSADOR YOUNG FROM UNA

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 110023 ACTION DAR ES SALAAM
LUSAKA APRIL 29

QUOTE C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 110023

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS - 1

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I WAS PLEASED TO RECEIVE YOUR ASSESSMENT OF THE DAR ES SALAAM MEETING WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. THIS CONFERENCE WAS AN ESSENTIAL STEP IN THE PURSUIT OF A JUST AND LASTING RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT. I HOPE IT WILL SOON BE FOLLOWED BY THE NEXT SUCH STEP, A MEETING AMONG ALL THE PARTIES.

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TO REALIZE OUR COMMON HOPES FOR RHODESIA, FULL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS IS IMPORTANT. YOUR COOPERATION AND THOUGHTFUL COUNSEL ARE ONCE AGAIN MOST TIMELY, AND I THANK YOU FOR SHARING THEM WITH ME. SINCERELY, JIMMY CARTER. END TEXT. VANCE. UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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NNN

Message Attributes

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Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
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Draft Date: 29 apr 1978
Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
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Disposition Approved on Date:
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Disposition History: n/a
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Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
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Retention: 0
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Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2812639
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PRESIDENT CARTER'S RESPONSE TO PRESIDENT NYERERE
TAGS: PDEV, PPDC, RH, TZ, US, WA, (CARTER, JIMMY), (NYERERE, JULIUS K)
To: DAR ES SALAAM LUSAKA
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/5138b2a5-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
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20 Mar 2014
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